

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O R 310047Z MAY 75 ZFF4

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTO 02066

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER THORNS MEEING WITH THE PRESIDENT

1. PRIME MINISTER THORN GAVE ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN  
A COPY OF THE SPEAKING NOTES HE HAD PREPARED FOR THE  
MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON MAY 29. THORN SAID THAT  
HE THOUGHT THAT HE HAD COVERED MOST OF THE MATERIAL  
IN THE NOTES BUT WANTED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO HAVE  
THEM IN CASE HE HAD OMITTED CERTAIN POINTS.

2. THE TEXT OF THE NOTES FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT:

SPEAKING NOTES FOR THE MEETING WITH THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE - BRUSSELS, MAY 29, 1975.

THE MEETING GIVES A WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE SOME  
OF THE ISSUES WHICH AT THE PRESENT TIME FACE THE  
ALLIANCE AND MORE SPECIFICALLY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

1. THE MOST BASIC ISSUE AND, FORTUNATELY ALSO THE LEAST  
CONTROVERSIAL, IS THAT OF OUR CONTINUED, RECIPROCAL  
COMMITMENT TO A COMMON DEFENCE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT,

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AFTER THE FRUSTRATING EXPERIENCE OF VIETNAM, THIS COMMITMENT

SHOULD BE SHOWN TO BE ALIVE AND INTACT. THIS COMMITMENT GOES FAR BEYOND A MERE ALLIANCE OF INTERESTS; IT IS OR SHOULD BE ROOTED IN THE COMMON BELIEF IN CERTAIN BASIC DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PRINCIPLES; IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES ARE ENTRUSTED TO INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, THAT THEY SHARE QUITE SPECIFIC INTERESTS; IN THE COMMON WILL TO MEET THESE CHALLENGES CONSTRUCTIVELY AND GENEROUSLY.

2. IT IS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THIS ESSENTIAL SOLIDARITY OF PURPOSE THAT THE PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT US MUST BE VIEWED. THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THE PAST YEAR HAS SEEN SOME GENUINE IMPROVEMENTS, NOTABLY IN THE PROCEDURES FOR MUTUAL INFORMATION AND CONSULTATION ABOUT MAJOR DIPLOMATIC MOVES. BUT IS STILL TOO OFTEN THE CASE THAT DEVELOPMENTS, EVEN POSITIVE ONES, ARE IMPOSED BY OUTSIDE EVENTS, THAT PROGRESS ONLY FEEDS ON CRISIS.

THIS IS NOT THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED: IT IS NOT RATIONAL IT IS PIECEMEAL, IT IS NOT CONDUCTIVE TO CONFIDENCE AND TRUST.

3. WHAT WE NEED IS A GLOBAL APPROACH WHICH WOULD BE BASED ON A FEW IMPORTANT PREMISES:

1) FOR THE VERY FUNDAMENTAL REASONS OUTLINED ABOVE THERE IS A BASIC SOLIDARITY OF PURPOSE AMONG ATLANTIC PARTNERS WHICH GOES BEYOND THE MERE ADDITION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS SOLIDARITY TRANSCENDS THE COMMON SECURITY INTERESTS, BUT IS PARTICULARLY VISIBLE THERE.

2) AN ECONOMICALLY INTEGRATED EUROPE WILL NOT AUTOMATICALLY MOVE TO A POLITICALLY UNITED EUROPE. BUT IT MOST DO SO, BECAUSE ONLY A POLITICALLY UNITED EUROPE CAN PROVIDE THE ALTERNATIVE TO UNCONTROLLABLE NATIONALISM (GERMANY). ONLY A POLITICALLY UNITED EUROPE CAN BE AN EFFECTIVE PILLAR IN THE ALLIANCE, NOT JUST AN ADVANCED BASTION. ONLY A UNITED EUROPE CAN BE A USEFUL ACTOR ON THE WORLD SCENE.

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3) EUROPE INEVITABLY HAS, THROUGH ITS GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION, ITS ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, ITS PARTICULAR INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS, ITS HEAVY RELIANCE ON FOREIGN TRADE, INTERESTS THAT ARE DIFFERENT OR ARE AT LEAST PERCEIVED DIFFERENTLY FROM THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. THESE INTERESTS ARE SUFFICIENTLY IMPORTANT TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. OTHERWISE THEY WILL BE A PERMANENT NUI-

SANCE FACTOR. IN ORDER FOR THEM TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT,  
THEY MUST BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO BE FORMULATED. THIS  
REQUIRES THE (EUROPEAN) INSTUTUTIONS TO DO SO:  
ECONOMIC ALREADY NOW IN EXISTENCE, POLITICAL SOME DAY  
SOON, DEFENCE LATER.

4) IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY THAT THESE  
DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD NOT BE SEEN TO TAKE PLACE AGAINST  
THE BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN RELUCTANCE OR EVEN OPPOSI-  
TION.

THE AMERICAN POSITION IS CONSTANTLY TAKEN IN ACCOUNT IN  
WHATEVER THERE IS OF EUROPEAN DECISION MAKING PRO-  
CESS. THIS IS IN ITSELF GOOD AND NECESSARY. WHAT IS  
BAD IS THAT, TOO OFTEN THE EUROPEAN POSITION IS DEFINED,  
NOT ON ITS OWN MERITS, BUT AS A FRAGILE COMPROMISE  
BETWEEN PRO- AND ANTI- AMERICANS. THIS THEN TURNS ANY  
SUBSEQUENT CONSULTATIONS WITH THE AMERICANS THEMSELVES  
INTO EITHER A RIGID OR A USELESS AFFAIR. THE PSYCHOLO-  
GY OF ALL THIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED.

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD THEREFORE COME OUT STRONGLY AND  
UNEQUIVOCALLY IN FAVOUR OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION. EUROPE IN  
TURN WILL NEED TO SHOW THAT IS WILLING TO CONCERT AND  
HARMONIZE POSITIONS. ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY AND EUROPEAN UNIFI-  
CATION NEED TO MOVE AHEAD IN PARALLEL. THERE MUST BE NO  
PLAYING OFF ONE AGAINST THE OTHER. EUROPEANS MUST NOT FEEL  
TO BE TRAPPED IN A DILEMNA WHEN IN REALITY THE TWO THINGS  
ARE COMPLEMENTARY.

WE HAVE A CHANCE AND DUTY TO ACT NOW. THE END OF MILITARY  
INVOLVEMENT IN INDOCHINA HAS CLEARED THE WAY FOR A RETURN  
TO ESSENTIAL PRIORITIES IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. EUROPE  
WANTS TO BREAK OUT OF ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC  
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DIFFICULTIES AND MOVE AHEAD TO POLITICAL UNION. THE WORLD-  
WIDE ECONOMIC CRISIS, THE PROBLEMS OF ENERGY AND RAW  
MATERIALS AND IN GENERAL OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIAL-  
IZED AND LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, THE DETENTE WITH THE  
EAST PRESENT COMMON CHALLENGES WHICH MUST BE MET IN A  
CONCERTED WAY.

WE MUST MOVE FROM AN ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION AND COMPETITION  
TO ONE OF TRUST AND SERENITY.

END TEXT.  
KISSINGER

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